595 /169 cont./ latter, after a certain period of time had elapsed,
[586] asked for a divorce on the grounds that she was no longer being supported by him. In another case, the second wife escaped with another man (1). But sometimes the man

[684]

1. Officially this is called adultery, and the man should behave as though he were siri'. In reality he agreed to the divorce nor did he make an attempt at stabbing; nor do his relatives expect him to take the initiative which might lead to her being sentenced by the judge for adultery.

chooses the second /wife/.

595 In the majority of cases, however, the first wife accepts
578 the new state of affairs. But her relationship with her rival remains notoriously bad. Abuse, hateful remarks about the stupidity, the low blood, or about certain physical characteristics of the other woman, are common expressions of her feelings. These she airs more to her female housemates, however, than to her spouse. Older women teach her that the latter is inadvisable. In one of the old lontar of the Prince of Goa there occurs the following rule which aptly characterizes
[682] the conditions /170/: "This is the rule concerning murder.
692 If we murder our co-wife, no matter where, and if we tell this to the people who come running to the scene, saying, 'I have killed my co-wife,' then there will be no revenge taken upon us." (1)

1. This translation was saved as part of the prewar manuscript. The lontar from

585 /178 cont./ "The medicinal plants
824 bowagang palili, parempasa',
789 and lowe are all able to
defend against evil." Palili
means: "cause to get out of
the way" (Ibid., p. 223)
Parempa' means: "to ward
off" (Ibid., p. 122). Of
"lowe," Matthes states that
it is an old name for the
"nagasari," a shrub that was
also used for fences (Ibid.,
p. 373). The word buagang
has the same meaning. When
a kampong head, after a theft,
turned to someone with the
words, "If the thief is found
in your house, you yourself
will also be punished," the
reaction was: "buagang,"
that is to say, "May that
misfortune not overcome me."

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded [824] in a special way (kalomping), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji', literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

521 /217 cont./ to be matesiri'. Every man knows these conse-
684 quences of thoughtless bragging; he is afraid of them because
[558] in such a case he would have to flee with the girl, and
[588] generally that is not his intention.

684 /218/ A woman who finds herself in a contact situation knows that she is in danger of being stabbed if her brother hears about it. Rarely does he see it or hear of it directly, however. Therefore, he can only rarely react to it in a direct manner.
[626] Not until it seems to her that her contact is being discussed
[521] does the danger become real for the woman. She always has a certain leeway in time, since everyone knows the great dangers involved in talking about these matters. Nobody likes to be called a "tale bearer" in a certain matter.

[571] When she is being discussed, one of the older women, sometimes even her mother, may warn her concerning the danger she is in. They will suggest flight and help her in the preparation. Whether she then flees alone or with the person who has made her siri' is another question. Such help is al-
[672] ways denied toward the men. For whoever helps a woman who should be killed is herself subject to the death penalty.

Frequently, the girl flees around dusk when an offhand remark that she is just going to the well is not suspected, and darkness covers her flight. A young man who at such a
[682 moment stabbed his sister was unable to give any other reason
672] than that he suspected her of wanting to flee. There was,
[626] however, no "proof." His act was therefore greatly disapproved.

When the flight is discovered, the young men immediately
627 take action. They organize a search, question the women,
684 arm themselves, and set out on an expedition. They stop
[602] at their kinsmen's houses and ask them "siri'"; that is to say, they ask them to come along and help them in the pursuit. The latter cannot refuse without a loss of honor. "If you
[626] don't have a sense of shame, go and borrow some somewhere," was snapped at someone who hesitated momentarily, and thereupon there could be no more question of hesitation.

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
● 672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

588 A description of such a wedding will follow here to describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

588 Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
848 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

684 /225 cont./ get water and not to talk." In another case a
834 girl was washing at the well when a ball with which a group of young men were playing raga rolled close to her. She gave the ball a little kick, and the young man who came to get it laughed to her. A few days later she fled to him. Another case concerned a girl who, during one of the ceremonies preceding her wedding, broke wind. One of her cousins immediately took the blame for it: "Don't laugh, people, it slipped out of me," he said. A few days later, the nikka' had already taken place; she fled to him. As it turned out later, she did so at the urging of her aunt: "Go off, do what your siri' demands" (lampako, dongkoki siri'nu), the latter is supposed to have said. Subsequently, she married this man.

/226/ In none of these instances was the woman therefore in any direct danger. In all three of them her action
• [672] was completely understood, and her kin group was "not very siri'," that is to say, the reconciliation took place within half a year. Rather than remaining siri' and running the risk of being stabbed, these women resorted to flight. Rather than refusing to go with her and not being believed and thus being regarded as one who flees before a woman, the men married. The wife's kinsmen were siri' because she fled and thereby openly admitted that forbidden contact existed. But there certainly was understanding of her action and the feelings that led her to it. In the last of these three cases just described, the deserted bridegroom was also without feelings of rancor toward the second husband. He regarded the course of events as part of his lot. When etiquette had been satisfied
[152] through reconciliation, there was no apparent trace of personal feelings of anger in him.

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

848 It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and the iddat period is past. Children born outside wedlock are, therefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die soon. Only once a girl of about eight years of age was pointed out to me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a father. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

588 A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

[848] His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/ happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although